



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

THE SECOND JEREMIAH.

Now that the critical analysis of the Hexateuch has been carried to as high a degree of perfection as the subject admits, perhaps some scholar will find leisure to bestow adequate examination upon the structure and growth of the book of Jeremiah. It is but a humble contribution which the present paper offers to the required investigation. It aims merely at expressing such provisional results, with regard to a certain group of prophecies and narratives, as a student of the English version would wish to submit to the judgment of better qualified investigators. It deals, broadly speaking, with the prophecies of restoration contained in this book, especially in chaps. iii., xxx.-xxxiii., and i., li. The third chapter will afford a starting-point for the inquiry.

I am contented at the outset to assume the genuineness of verses 6-15, although I gather from a "Critical Notice" of Cornill's Introduction to the Old Testament, in the JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW for July, 1892 (vol. IV., p. 671, fifth par.), that that scholar regards them as a later, and presumably post-exilic, addition. But I imagine that in England, at all events, few will be found to agree with him. It must be remembered that at the epoch of Josiah's reformation hardly more than a century had elapsed since the fall of Samaria, not more than fifty years since the supposed foreign immigration under Esar-haddon, or Assurbanipal (see Ezra iv. 2, 10, and Cheyne's note on Isa. vii. 8). It is not likely that the exiles settled "in Halah, and in Habor, on the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes" (2 Ki. xvii. 6, xviii. 11), had in three generations lost all memory of the land of Israel, or the religion of Elisha and Hosea. Nor is it probable that after the fall of

Samaria the Israelitish population was exterminated, any more than that of Judah after the fall of Jerusalem (cf. 2 Kings xxiv. 14, xxv. 12, 22, 26). And it seems to be implied, or at least suggested, by 2 Kings xxiii. 15-20, 29, 30, that Josiah actually extended his authority over the principal part of the former northern kingdom. Under these circumstances the coming to Zion of *individual* Israelites, as described in Jer. iii. 14, is exactly what might reasonably be expected; we learn from xli. 5 that something of the sort really happened, even after the destruction of Jerusalem. The command to "proclaim these words towards the north, and say, 'Return, thou backsliding Israel, saith Yahveh'" (iii. 12) has more appropriateness to the days of Josiah than to a later period; while the worship carried on "upon every high mountain, and under every green tree," which is denounced in verses 6, 13, is presumably identical with "the manner of the god of the land," which the immigrants endeavoured to combine with the *cultus* of their own tutelary deities (2 Kings xvii. 24-41, esp. verse 27). Finally, it seems reasonable to suppose that the passage before us is the original model of the more formal and detailed allegory in Ezek. xxiii.

Here, then, is a *terminus a quo* for the series of prophecies under investigation; a genuine utterance of Jeremiah. In verse 16 we find what may for the present be regarded as a *terminus ad quem*—a post-exilic interpolation, irrelevant to the subject of the preceding verses, and connected with them by an artificial link ("And it shall come to pass . . . in those days"). It obviously refers to a special occasion, and not until the return from exile could that occasion arise. Not until the ark of Yahveh had perished, which could not be the case before the destruction of the Temple, and not until there was a question of reconstructing it, which could hardly occur before the rebuilding of the Temple, would there be any need for such an oracle as this: "They shall say no more, The ark of the covenant of Yahveh; neither shall it come to mind;

neither shall they remember it; neither shall they miss it; neither shall it be made any more." For the old conception of the *local* presence of Yahveh, the writer proceeds to substitute a new one: "At that time they shall call Jerusalem the throne of Yahveh; and all the nations shall be gathered unto it, to the name of Yahveh, to Jerusalem." This verse is clearly related to Isa. ii. 2-4 = Micah iv. 1-3, and perhaps also to Isa. iv. 5; the former, according to Cornill (see JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, IV., p. 669), "Deutero-Isaianic"; the latter, "Non-Isaianic," according to Cheyne (*Ibid.*, p. 564, *vers. fin.*) The concluding words: 'neither shall they walk any more after the stubbornness of their evil heart,' are referred to in Canon Driver's list of *Expressions Characteristic of Jeremiah* (Introd., 4th ed., p. 257). But of course a particular expression, for the very reason that it is characteristic of the older prophet, may easily have been adopted by an imitator. *If genuine*, should not these words rather follow verse 15? All the parallel passages refer, not to the nations, but to Israel. A third note of time ("In those days") brings us to a verse to which I shall have to refer in the sequel. Here it will be sufficient to observe that it *presupposes* the captivity as well of Judah as of Israel, and cannot, therefore, belong to the days of Josiah (verse 1). Ezekiel xxxvii. 15-28, shows clearly that even in the time of that prophet the hope of restoration and reunion for all Israel was still strong and vivid.

Another element in the criticism of this group of prophecies is afforded by chaps. l. and li., of which the late exilic date and "Deutero-Isaianic" character are recognized, I believe, by Cheyne, Driver, and Cornill. It will therefore be easy and convenient to discuss these chapters before proceeding to the more difficult case of xxx.-xxxiii.

Wellhausen (Art. "Israel," sect. 10), adverts to the peculiar *structure*, the "constantly recurring lyrical parenthesis" of Isaiah xl. *seq.* The same structure characterises Jer. l., li. Not merely are separate passages

parallel to one another in thought and partly in language, but these alternate with other passages relating to other subjects, and are clearly distinguished from them by abrupt transitions. Transition, alternation, repetition, repetition *with a difference*; these are the marks which characterise the arrangement both of Isaiah xl. *seq.*, and Jer. l., li. It is plain that a composition of this nature is unusually liable to omissions, transpositions, and interpolations in the process of transcription; and assuredly the two chapters before us have not escaped these dangers. But, further, the prophet of Jer. l., li. was, like the "Second Isaiah," a student, and in some degree an imitator, of his predecessors. If, therefore, we find in the text under consideration a passage derived from some earlier prophetic author, it is difficult to be sure whether it is a quotation made by the writer, or an addition to his text, due to some ill-judging scribe; and the only proof of interpolation consists in the absolute irrelevance of the passage inserted. Such intrusive repetitions are of frequent recurrence throughout the Book of Jeremiah, and are by no means confined to it. One of them is to be recognised in the quotation from Hab. ii. 13, which forms the present conclusion of the prophecy (li. 58*b*). The first half of the verse is no doubt genuine, and no doubt misplaced. Perhaps it once stood at the end of verse 44, where we now read the feeble words, "yea, the wall of Babylon shall fall." A more appropriate position might be found for it after verse 32, or perhaps verse 33. The true conclusion of the prophecy, in our present text, is verse 57, and verse 58 must be regarded as an appendix (cf. Job xxxi. 38-40).

The first great section concludes with l. 31, 32, ("Behold, I am against thee, O Pride . . . round about him"); and perhaps another section once concluded with the similar passage in li. 25, 26; a third and last commencing with verse 27 ("Set ye up a standard in the land"). I decline to assume the prophet's responsibility for the *cento* in l. 39-46, with its cool mechanical plagiarisms, or for the

irrelevant quotation of a fine passage from chap. x. 1-16 (perhaps a work of the same author), which now fills verses 15-19 of chap. li. The following verses (20-23) are again genuine, but surely misplaced. I should like to connect li. 20 with l. 21, while l. 22-25 would follow very appositely after li. 23. Another verse which appears out of place, in its present context, is l. 28. Let the reader try the effect of putting this verse where something equivalent seems absolutely required, viz., before li. 10, noting, at the same time, the connection with 11c.

The difficulty attaching to such transpositions is that while it might be easy to arrange the contents of these two chapters in a better order, we cannot be sure that we have restored the original sequence, especially as our present text may be defective as well as interpolated. But one safe and simple step might be taken to assist the student of the English Bible. Passages which are either spurious (*e.g.*, Jer. x. 11), or, if genuine, are certainly misplaced (*e.g.*, Isaiah lvii. 1, 2), might be printed *at the foot* of the text which they now interrupt. I must add that in the two chapters under consideration, the peculiar structure to which I have referred is not adequately exhibited by the sub-paragraphs of the revised version. Let us take a single instance, which will be of further use, namely, the paragraph extending from verse 45 to verse 57 inclusive, of chap. li. The first section (45, 46) is connected by its subject, not with the second (47, 48), but with the third (49-51). The second is connected by a close and curious parallelism with the fourth (52, 53). Then follows the conclusion (54-57). This should be clearly shown in type.

The differences which distinguish verses 47, 48 from verses 52, 53 are no less noteworthy than the resemblances between these two sections. Compare especially the latter clauses of verse 47 ("And her whole land shall be ashamed; and all her slain shall fall in the midst of her") with the last clause of verse 52 ("And through all her land the wounded shall groan"), and both with the last half of Ezek.

xxvi. 15 ("When the wounded groan, when the slaughter is made in the midst of thee"). If now we compare the first part of verse 47 ("Therefore, behold the days come, that I will do judgment upon the graven images of Babylon"), not only with the corresponding words in verse 52, but also with the commencement of verse 44 ("And I will do judgment upon Bel in Babylon"), and then turn to the opening verse of the entire prophecy (l. 2), where we read, "Babylon is taken, Bel is put to shame; Merodach is dismayed; her images are put to shame, her idols are dismayed"; if, further, we compare li. 58*a* with the conclusion of verse 44, and verse 57 with verse 39, the question cannot but present itself to any intelligent reader, which must be left to the Hebrew scholar to decide, whether we have not here, besides the intentional parallelism of the author, some evidence of a *conflate text*? Certainly, in l. 2, it is tempting to read simply, "Declare ye among the nations, and publish, and conceal not: Babylon is taken, Bel is put to shame, Merodach is dismayed," thus simplifying the text and improving the parallelism. The expression, "Set up a standard," seems inappropriate in this place. In iv. 6 the standard is intended for the guidance of fugitives towards Zion (Cheyne). In li. 12, according to the same authority, it is carried before the army towards the walls of Babylon. In li. 27, like the ensign in Isaiah xiii. 2, it serves as a rallying-point to the invaders. But what purpose does it serve in l. 2? Compare, however, Isa. xviii. 3 with Cheyne's note, and perhaps Isa. lxii, 10; also (generally) Jer. xlv. 14.

The loose structure of chapters l., li. renders it easy to distinguish the component parts of this prophecy, and especially to separate from the passages announcing the fall of Babylon those which relate to the restoration of Israel. Of these the most important are the first two, l. 4-7 (*not* 8) and 17-20; with which we must compare cautiously verses 33, 34; li. 5 (l. 28, as above); li. 10, 11*c*, 24, 34, 35, 45, 46, 49-51. These verses admit of being

read consecutively, without regard to the context in which they occur—a phenomenon for which we may account either on the hypothesis of displacement or on that of interpolation. It is possible that a series of prophecies originally continuous, might be transcribed on to the margins of a roll containing the main utterance against Babylon, and, by a later copyist, be incorporated in the text. It is certain that l. 4-7 and 17-20 are at least out of place in their present position, and interrupt the text in which they are embedded, and which, in turn, separates them from one another. But the remaining passages are more closely connected with the main text, the idea of Yahveh's vengeance affording the link between the two elements. This is more especially the case in the latter part of chapter li., where verses 36, 37 can hardly be separated from those which immediately precede them, and verse 44 contains a clear reference to 34, "Bel" in the later corresponding to the "dragon" in the earlier verse. But it is precisely the latter portion of chapter li. which offers the strongest indications of a disordered text. On the whole I cannot hope to solve the critical problems raised by these two chapters. I shall be satisfied if I have advanced them a stage nearer to solution.

I have already called attention to the notes of time ("And it shall come to pass . . . in those days"; "At that time"; "In those days") which introduce the predictions interpolated in the genuine text of Jer. iii. (verses 16, 17, 18). At the beginning of l. 4-7, and at the conclusion of verses 17-20, we find a link of similar character ("In those days, and in that time"). It will meet us again in xxxiii. 15. I must also point out the agreement of l. 4 with iii. 18, as well as the important addition, "They shall go on their way weeping, and shall seek Yahveh their God," apparently derived from iii. 21, 22, a genuine utterance of Jeremiah *referring to Israel alone*. There is a parallel passage in xxxi. 9. We may infer from l. 5 that the prophetic writer is himself in Zion. Cf. xxxi. 8.

At this point it may be well to consider briefly the general character of the narratives in the book before us. I use the plural advisedly. There is no biography, no "Life and Works" of Jeremiah, but merely a collection of his prophecies with narratives designed primarily to illustrate the particular occasions on which these prophecies were delivered. This is clearly recognised in the editorial system of titles. Compare especially i. 1-3, and xl. 1. It is plain that the latter supplements the former, and that, in the view of the compiler, the narrative even in xl.-xliv. was subordinate to the prophecy. Was the title in i. 1 designed to include the narratives of the prophet as well as the word of Yahveh?

The whole collection originated in the first instance with Jeremiah himself, under the circumstances of which we are informed by the instructive account in chap. xxxvi. Presumably it contained at first all the prophecies older than the fourth year of Jehoiakim, and relating to Israel (verse 2) as well as Judah, which are now to be found in i.-xxiv., followed by chap. xxv. (*omissis omittendis*), xlv. 3-12, xlvii., xlviii. (striking out the glaring interpolations), xlix. 1-33. To this original collection, reproduced after its destruction by Jehoiakim, many additions were subsequently made (xxxvi. 32). The prophet employed an amanuensis (*Ibid.*), and upon different occasions he may have employed many. This is perhaps, sufficient to account for the variations in orthography (Driver, *Introd. O. T.*, p. 255, footnote 1) which distinguish chaps. xxvii.-xxix., as well as for the circumstance that while in xxvii. 2-xxviii. 4 the prophet speaks in his own person, at xxviii. 5, the narrative is taken up by another; the amanuensis, on this theory, now becoming the narrator.

The interpolations in the text of chap. xxvii., as compared with that which lay before the Septuagint translators, are well known. Here it is important to observe that their intention and effect is to supplement threats of servitude and exile by promises of ultimate retribution to

Babylon (verse 7), and restoration to Zion (verse 22). Very different was the attitude of Jeremiah. Far from denouncing judgment upon Babylon and her king for the wrongs done to Zion and Yahveh (l. 18, 28; li. 12, 35, etc.), he describes Nebuchadnezzar, not merely as Isaiah had described the King of Assyria (Isa. x. 5, *et seq.*), as the unconscious instrument, but as the actual *servant* of Yahveh, and he counsels the exiles, saying in the name of Yahveh, "Seek the peace of the city whither I have caused you to be carried away captive, and pray unto Yahveh for it: for in the peace thereof ye shall have peace." I doubt if there is a single authentic utterance of Jeremiah predicting the restoration of Judah, and the destruction of Babylon. The passionate soul of the prophet went from gloom to gloom, and found peace only in submission.

It is natural that the text of his writings should have been interpolated in a sense more favourable to the hopes of the exiles, or the aspirations of those who returned to Palestine. One very probable instance of this may be found in xxix. 10-14. The omission of these verses, as well as of verses 16-19 (Sept. omits 16-20), greatly improves the sequence of thought which may be traced in verses 8, 9, 15 (20), 21-23. A far more striking case awaits our consideration.

Jer. xxxii. commences with an editorial title and date of the usual type (verse 1), now followed by an explanatory parenthesis, which is entirely based on the narratives and denunciations in chaps. xxxvii. 11-21, xxxviii. 1-13, xxxiv. 2, 3, and perhaps (in verse 5, the last clause) on xxxvii. 10. This parenthesis (verses 2-5) contains nothing original except the second clause of verse 5: "and there shall he be until I visit him," which is not to be found in the corresponding passage of chap. xxxiv., and resembles one interpolated in xxvii. 22. These verses then may be dismissed from consideration.

The prophecy to which the title in xxxii. 1 originally stood prefixed may now be found in verses 28-35 of the

same chapter: an utterance perfectly consistent in thought and style with the oft-repeated threatenings of the prophet. Chap. xxxiii. begins, "Moreover the word of Yahveh came unto Jeremiah the second time, while he was yet shut up in the court of the guard, saying"—and then by a manifest interpolation (verses 2, 3) the text strays into the language of II. Isaiah. But in verses 4, 5, we have still preserved the second oracle, to which xxxiii. 1 refers. These two passages (xxxii. 28-35 and xxxiii. 4, 5) are the only parts of the chapters in which they occur that can with safety be ascribed to Jeremiah. As usual, they contain nothing but unrelieved threatening. The text has been interpolated in a directly contrary sense.

The formal composition in xxxii. 17-23 is classed by Cornill (*JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW*, IV., p. 671) among "later additions." And no wonder. But the pedantic legalism of the preceding narrative (verses 6-16) is equally remote from the character of Jeremiah. The hand of the Scribe is manifest in both, and contrasts very curiously with the heroic spirit of faith and patriotism implied in the thing related. The analogy between this narrative and the well-known parallel in Roman history is perhaps not an accident. It is, of course possible that the elaborate prayer in verses 17-23 belongs to a stage of interpolation yet later than the narrative in which it is embedded, and this supposition is encouraged by a comparison of verse 27 with the last clause of verse 17. In the narrative the prophet needs to be reminded of the very truth which has already been expressed in the prayer. (Cp. Gen. xviii. 14.) To the narrator of verses 6-16, 24-27, must also be ascribed verses 36 and 43, 44; perhaps also xxxiii. 10, 11, of which the concluding clauses, with their liturgical and ritual allusions, may have been added by the same hand as xxxii. 17-23. But the discussion of chap. xxxiii. must be postponed to the last.

Canon Cheyne (whose name must not be mentioned without a general acknowledgment of my innumerable

obligations to his writings, especially with regard to many references to parallel passages, which I owe to his Exposition in the Pulpit Commentary) remarks on chap. xxx.: "This and the three next chapters form a kind of book in themselves." This observation is not applicable to xxxii. 1 (2-5), 28-35, and xxxiii. 1, 4, 5. But it applies in its full force to the collection of prophecies which we have now to consider. It is prefaced (xxx. 2) by a convenient fiction (Cp. li. 59-64), the reason for which is assigned in verse 3, in a manner which indicates the date and occasion of publication, viz., the return from exile. It is at once observable that, as in chap. iii. 18; l. 4-7, 17-20, these prophecies predict the restoration as well of Israel as of Judah (verses 3, 4; Cp. xxxi. 1). The following verses are devoid of originality. If there is anything in this chapter that is Jeremiah's, it is to be found in verses 5, 6, and 12-15. But as a whole, the chapter seems to be the work of a collector and student of former prophetic utterances. It may, however, be worth while to suggest that the omission of verses 10, 11, in the LXX. is a consequence of the transposition by which chaps. xlv. li. are made to follow xxv. 13. In this place the promise to Israel is surely more appropriate than as an appendix to a prophecy against Egypt (xlv. 27, 28). The Deutero-Isaianic character of verse 10 has often been noticed. With the latter clauses of this verse, compare Micah iv. 4. Another Deutero-Isaianic touch may be noted in the latter part of verse 17, and a third (the promised multiplication, cf. iii. 16), in verse 19. In verse 13 we read, "There is none to plead thy cause"; In l. 34 and li. 36, Yahveh himself will plead the cause, in the former passage of Israel and Judah, in the latter of Jerusalem. The rather perplexing logic of xxx. 15, 16 ("because thy sins were increased, I have done these things unto thee. Therefore, all they that devour thee, shall be devoured,") may be understood by reference to l. 7, 17, 18. Cp. Isa. x. 5 *et seq.*, Zech. i. 15; also Jer. ii. 3, where I strongly suspect that the concluding clauses of the verse

are an addition to the genuine text. There can be little doubt that the prediction in xxx. 18 of the rebuilding of city and palace is most appropriate to the age of the return. But all hesitation on this point is removed by verses 20, 21, "Their children also shall be as aforetime, and their congregation shall be established before me, and I will punish all that oppress them. And their prince shall be of themselves, and their ruler shall proceed from the midst of them." This is the language of a contemporary describing the constitution, the aspirations, and the dangers of the post-exilic community. The latter part of verse 21 may be compared with Zech. iii. 7. Verse 22, omitted by the Sept. is no doubt spurious, being derived from Hos. ii. (the last verse), or from the passage which at present breaks the connection between Hos. i. and ii. In Jer. xxiii. 19, 20, the remarkable section "concerning the prophets" is interrupted by the two eloquent verses, which are repeated at the end of chapter xxx. In both cases they conclude with an obvious gloss. For the motive which led to their insertion, compare Isa. xl. 2, and Jer. xvi. 18*a*. They were construed as implying that the wrath of Yahveh had at last been appeased by the execution of his judgments. They offer, at least in the English version, a curious parallel to the phraseology of Hos. xi. 9.

There is a break, and a difference, between chapters xxx. and xxxi. The former, excepting verses 18-21, contains little that is original. The latter includes passages of the highest originality and beauty. It is connected with chapter xxx. by a conventional link ("At that time"), which serves to introduce a prophecy distinguished by the fact that it refers primarily to the restoration not of Judah and Jerusalem, but of Ephraim and Samaria. This extends as far as verse 22. It must be observed that, as in l. 5, the standpoint is that of Zion (xxx. 6, 8, 12). Possibly the original text of the prophecy has undergone expansion at the hands of an editor. As it stands it

presents many indications of post-exilic date. Cheyne notes on verse 8, "The word for *company* is 'kahal,' the proper word in the Pentateuch for the Israelitish national 'congregation.'" And Wellhausen (*Proleg.*, English translation, p. 387), discussing the language of the Priestly Code, includes among the characteristic expressions of Gen. i., both the *verbum creandi* employed in Jer. xxxi. 22, and also (p. 389, under Gen. i. 27), another expression in the same verse. It seems difficult to explain the concluding clause, except as a proverbial expression for a miraculous reversal of ordinary conditions. But we may compare xxx. 6, and note that this verse also affords Wellhausen a parallel to Gen. i. 27. These, however, are matters for the Hebraist. Yet I cannot omit a reference to the weird vision in iv. 23 *et seq.* which yields another allusion to Gen. i. (2), and a striking contrast to the style of Jeremiah. Upon a more detailed examination we may note that verses 2, 3, offer parallels to li. 50 ("The people which were left of the sword," and "from afar."—*Cheyne*). In verse 2, the wilderness is the place of grace, as in Hosea ii. 14, 15 (cp. Jer. ii. 2). But the analogy between the exodus from Egypt and that from Babylon, between the wilderness of Sinai and that of Syria, was constantly present to the prophets of the Return. If verse 3 is intended to describe a vision, we may find its conclusion in verse 26. Contrast the stern words of Jeremiah in xxiii. 25-32: no literary fictions *there*. In verse 4, the "virgin of Israel" suggests comparison with xviii. 13.

Parallels to II. Isaiah may be noticed in verse 3 (Is. liv. 8, 10), verse 8 (Is. xxxv. 5, 6, xlii. 16), verse 9b (Is. xxxv. 8, xl. 3, the *highway*, cp. Ezr. viii. 21; Is. xlvi. 21, xlix. 10, the *waters*), verse 10 (Is. xl. 15, "nations" and "isles"; liv. 7, antithesis between former wrath and present mercy; xl. 11, flock and shepherd), verse 11 (Is. xxxv. 11, *et sæpe*, "ransomed" and "redeemed"), verse 12 *ad fin.* (Is. xxxv. 10), and the preceding clause, which contains an expression found also in Is. lviii. 11 (*Cheyne in loco*), and *nowhere else*.

These verses at least must be pronounced Deutero-Isaianic. The promise of comfort in verse 13 may also be compared with Is. xl. and lxi. *ad init.*

I have already noticed the parallels to li. 50 in verses 2, 3 (cp. xxx. 10, "from afar"), to l. 5 at the end of verse 8 ("hither"), and to l. 4 in verse 9 ("weeping"); with verse 11 cf. l. 34, already cited under xxx. 13; and cf. Ex. iv. 22, 23 with Jer. xxxi. 9, *ad fin.*, and l. 33. In verse 17 we have a parallel to the expression in xxix. 11 (an interpolated passage). Finally, verse 18 should be compared with Hos. x. 11, verse 9c with Hos. xi. 1, 3, and verse 20 with Hos. xi. 8.

At verse 23 the subject changes from Ephraim to Judah. The passage is introduced by a formula—"Yet again"—which occurs repeatedly in the following chapters, and might fairly be described as the key-note of their later portions. We have a glimpse of the restored community, not only Jerusalem, but "Judah and the cities thereof" (cp. Neh. xi. 1-3), the agricultural and pastoral population. The expressions of verse 25 are parallel to those of verse 14. The section concludes with verse 26, already noticed. Although some portions of it appear more original than others, it seems impossible to draw a clear line of demarcation between them. Both share the same peculiar unction, the sweetness and the pathos of revived hope. I am compelled to infer that this student and imitator of former prophecies, in the days of the Return, was himself a prophet of no mean order.

The latter part of chap. xxxi. falls into four sections, three of which commence with the same solemn announcement: "Behold, the days come, saith Yahveh" (cp. xxx. 3, li. 47, 52). In verse 28, as in xxxii. 41 and xxxiii. 7, there is an obvious reference to i. 10, 12 (cp. xviii. 7-9, and xlv. 4). The principle expressed here, and in xxxii. 42, is that which has governed the whole series of additions to the text of Jeremiah, excepting such as are due to mere incorporations of marginal glosses (often originating in the

same motive), or perhaps in some cases to an aimless love of expansion on the part of the copyist (*e.g.*, the interpolations in chap. xlviii., and, I think, chap. l. 39-46). The promises of Jeremiah (*e.g.*, vii. 3-7, xviii. 8, 11) were conditional upon national repentance, and the response which his warnings met with left him no hope of the fulfilment of that condition (ii. 25, xviii. 12). Here, on the contrary, its fulfilment is assumed. Chap. xxxi. 29, 30, introduced by one of the characteristic formulæ which we have so often had occasion to notice, is evidently based upon Deut. xxiv. 16 and the well-known teaching of Ezekiel (*esp.* Ezek. xviii. 2). Here the implication is that in the age of the Return the people of Yahveh should no longer suffer punishment for the sins of a past generation, not without a warning against the recurrence in individual cases of the same offences.

The second of these sections (verses 31-34) contains the famous prophecy of the "new covenant." Like the verses which immediately precede it, it is based on the teaching of Ezekiel (Ezek. xi. 19, 20, xxxvi. 26-28, xxxvii. 26, 27). There is no evidence to connect it with Jeremiah, no ground for separating it from the prophecies with which it is so closely associated. The covenant of Josiah, of which Jeremiah was a preacher (chap. xi.), the covenant of Zedekiah, of which he had denounced the breach (chap. xxxiv.), had alike failed of fulfilment. In the time of the Exile the need of a new and lasting, because inward and spiritual, covenant, began to be felt in a few lofty minds. Of such a covenant our Second Jeremiah was an evangelist. The son of Hilkiyah was the prophet of despair, the author of these chapters was a prophet of hope.

Closely parallel with the sections just discussed is that in xxxii. 37-42. It has no connection whatever with the verses which now precede and follow it, and which refer respectively to the city of Jerusalem and the acquisition of landed property. It is possible that this passage should change places with xxxi. 38-40, a detailed prediction of the

rebuilding of Jerusalem, which affords parallels, or at least points of contact with Neh. iii. 1, xii. 39, Zech. xiv. 10, and Neh. iii. 28. In ch. xxxii. 38 observe the agreement with what is probably a wrong reading in Ezek. xi. 19, where see Davidson's note.¹ In xxxii. 39 the words "for the good of them, and of their children after them" seem out of place. Perhaps they should follow verse 41. In verse 40 "to do them good" is manifestly an insertion from the next verse.

The passages which remain to be considered have been handed down to us in such a state of disorder as can hardly be accounted for, except by the combination of distinct recensions to form our present text. A comparison of xxxi. 35-37 with xxxiii. 17-22 and 23-26, or of xxxiii. 12, 13 with verses 10, 11, and xxxii. 43, 44, goes far to prove the existence of three such recensions. I am led to conjecture that the scribe to whom we owe the narrative of the purchase of the field in Anathoth, when interpolating that story in a genuine chapter of the book of Jeremiah (a chapter which may, however, have received previous additions), incorporated in his work prophecies which originally formed the sequel of ch. xxxi., and the conclusion of the "book" mentioned in xxx. 2, the work of our "Second Jeremiah." It is, indeed, not improbable that the scribe's narrative with the promises of restoration included in it was designed as a *substitute* for the genuine text in xxxii. 28-35, xxxiii. 4, 5, and that a still later hand has thrown both together. In either case there resulted a mixture of three elements in that portion of the text which extends from xxxii. 37 to the end of ch. xxxiii., with which must be compared xxxi. 35-40. Subsequent transcription and conflation have made confusion worse confounded.

In ch. xxxiii. 6-9 two different forms of text, referring to the city and the people respectively, have apparently been thrown into one. See especially the beginning of verse 6,

¹ Cf. Cheyne on Jer. iii. 8, referring to Ezek. xxiii. 13.

and the end of verse 9. Of the alternative readings now incorporated in the text of verse 8, one pair may have originally referred to the city. In verse 9 the omission of the subject may perhaps be due to the existence of variants, viz., "Israel" and "Jerusalem," as in xxiii. 6 and xxxiii. 16. But on a comparison of xiii. 11 and xxxii. 37-42, I am inclined to suppose that the whole passage, at least from 6b onwards, originally referred to the people, and should follow immediately upon xxxii. 42.

Another instance of conflation *saute aux yeux* at the end of verse 10. The second occurrence in that verse of the words "without man and without beast," is presumably a variant for "without inhabitant," which has been stupidly foisted into the text. Verses 10, 11 are a mere *cento*, the opening of which is modelled on that of the following passage. The middle clauses of verse 11 are perhaps an addition to the text by the same hand as xvii. 26 and xxxii. 17-23.

In verses 12, 13, we have an original and beautiful prophecy, which may well be connected with xxxi. 23, 24. It is desirable to quote it in full:—"Thus saith the LORD of hosts: Yet again shall there be in this place, which is waste, without man and without beast, and in all the cities thereof, an habitation of shepherds causing their flocks to lie down. In the cities of the hill country, in the cities of the lowland, and in the cities of the south, and in the land of Benjamin, and in the places about Jerusalem, and in the cities of Judah, shall the flocks again pass under the hand of him that telleth them, saith the LORD." It is an idyll of pastoral life. In a passage (Jer. xvii. 19-27), which, according to Kuenen (see JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, II., 319), belongs to the period of Ezra, and which is apparently connected with Neh. xiii. (especially verse 19) the same picturesque enumeration is repeated with some slight variations and a different predicate (verse 26). "And they shall come from the cities of Judah [*et cetera*], bringing burnt-offerings, and sacrifices, and oblations, and

frankincense, and bringing *sacrifices* of thanksgiving, unto the house of the LORD" (Cp. xxxiii. 11 *ad fin.*). It is a solemn picture of national worship.

In xxxii. 44, the Scribe who narrates the purchase of the field in Anathoth has chosen the same model for imitation, with yet another predicate: "Men shall buy fields for money, and subscribe the deeds, and seal them, and call witnesses." It is a paradise of lawyers' clerks.

The concluding section of chap. xxxiii. (verses 14-26) is omitted in the Septuagint version, presumably because it contains matter which had been already given in other forms. Nevertheless, the forms in which it here occurs are worthy of close consideration. The passage commences with the same solemn formula which we have already encountered in xxxi. 27, 31, 38. Then follows immediately a reference to a former word of Yahveh, which may be taken to allude to xxx. 1, 4, but more probably to the prophecy which is next quoted from chap. xxiii. 5, 6. I do not believe that this prophecy is the utterance of Jeremiah. Introduced by the same formula, it appears to me written in the same spirit as the prophecy of the new covenant in chap. xxxi., and the cognate passages which we have lately considered in chapters xxxii. and xxxiii. Chap. xxiii. 1-8 seems to me closely analogous to Ezek. xxxiv. and xxxvii. (*vers. fin.*). In Zech. vi. it is apparently applied to Zerubbabel. (See Q. P. B.). Here it is quoted with two or three noteworthy variations. The clause, "he shall reign as king and deal wisely," is altogether omitted. Compare the expressions of xxx. 21 and Ezek. xl.-xlviii., as well as the mutilation of the text in Zech. vi. *sup. cit.* There came a time when a *king* was no longer hoped for, and probably not desired. Instead of reading, "In his days Judah shall be saved, and Israel shall dwell safely," our text runs, "In these days shall Judah be saved, and Jerusalem shall dwell safely." The hope of restoration for Ephraim was growing dim. Finally, instead of the royal name which appears required by the context in chap. xxiii., "Yahveh is our

righteousness" becomes a title of Jerusalem. Both the place and epoch of the compiler are thus suggested. (Cf. Cheyne *in loco*).

In xxxiii. 17-22, *Ibid.* 23-26, and xxxi. 35-37, we have apparently three recensions of a single oracle. Of these the least authentic is that in chap. xxxi. The latter part of verse 35 is derived from Is. li. 15, and is here quite irrelevant. What is meant by giving the *ordinances* of moon and stars for a light by night? And in verse 37 what parity exists between *protasis* and *apodosis*? These are merely confused reminiscences of what is more accurately given in xxxiii. 20-22, where there is a real analogy between the immutable "laws of nature" and the everlasting covenant with David, and again between the innumerable stars of heaven, or the countless grains of sand upon the seashore, and the unnumbered progeny here promised. The most remarkable feature of this passage is the identification of Priests and Levites, which seems to show that we are still in an age when the programme of Ezekiel and the assumptions of the Priestly Code are as yet unknown or unaccepted. It may be questioned whether the clauses which relate to "the priests the Levites" are not an addition to the original text. In verse 26 the "two families" referred to in the popular saying of verse 24 are identified with the "seed of Jacob and of David." But it is perhaps more probable that this saying, which may be compared with many cited by Ezekiel, originally bore reference to the house of Israel and the house of Judah. (Wellhausen, *Prok.*, Eng. Trans., p. 141).

I do not think I have expressly stated in the foregoing paper my general conclusion, that Jer. iii. 16-18; xxx., xxxi., and (at least in part) xxiii. 1-8, and xxxiii. 14-26; l. 4-7 and 17-20, and other portions of l.-li. relating to the restoration of Israel and Judah; as well as clauses interpolated in ii. 3, and xvi. 18, are all the work of a single student and imitator of former prophecies, whom I have ventured to name the "Second Jeremiah."

I have accomplished my task, undertaken, in the first instance, for my own satisfaction, and with a view to clear up the perplexing problems presented by this group of chapters, problems which I found either passed over in silence or most inadequately treated in every English book accessible to me. This may perhaps excuse the paradox of an essay in Old Testament criticism by an amateur equally ignorant of Hebrew and German. It may be justified by some measure of success. The results reached in such a manner must be very largely provisional. It is probable that a critical survey of the whole book would in part confirm and in part serve to correct them. I have, perhaps, thrown some light on "the method of the editor of Jeremiah." It is right to say that I have not had the opportunity of consulting the article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. But I gather that it no longer represents the matured views of its distinguished author. I am unable to use the work of Stade, and though I have read with care the letters of Sir H. Howorth to *The Academy* on the subject of the "First Book of Esdras," yet as I am not qualified to test his conclusions, I have not ventured to adopt them. But I hope that a more careful sifting of exilic and post-exilic prophecy may throw fresh light on the history of the Return.

ADDENDA.

THE proper sequel of Jer. iii. 1-5 is to be found in verses 19, 20, and that of verses 6-15 in iii. 21-iv. 2. The latter part of iv. 2 is, however, an exilic or post-exilic addition. It should be followed immediately by iii. 16-18.

It may be worth while to remark that, as the text stands, all three sections of Jer. xxxiii. 14-26 (*sc.* verses 14-16, 17-22, 23-26) contain explicit promises to the seed of David, but no such reference occurs, where we might expect to find it, in xxx. 21, or in xxxi. 35-37.

The consideration of these Davidic prophecies suggests a fresh examination of those in the books of Amos and Hosea. I confess it